

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Territorial Slave Code
SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.
JANUARY 25, 1860.

[CONTINUED]

When, Mr. President, the Republican party, entered upon their action in 1846, by the opposition of slavery, by the crimes against the people of Kansas, in their earnest as ever issued from human lips to the American people, to their sense of justice, their love of liberty, their sense of patriotism, to that it highest, noblest, and holiest, in human nature, to rescue the Government, arrest slavery extension, redress the wrongs of the people, and give protection to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, Democratic priests and Democratic leaders, whose vital and animating principle is the propagation and extension of slavery over all the North and South, raised, raised, raised the outcry of disunity. Timid and selfish conservatives, which saw, unmoved, liberty cloven down in a distant Territory, and heard the implored appeals for protection of freedom whose voices were, or, at most, three exceptions, are not heard, when it heard this cry of disunion, opened its long purse, and continued the destiny of the country in the keeping of men who avowed their intention to raze it if they could not rule it.

Sir, there was an uncertain contest was going on, when the election of Fremont seemed to the leaders of the Democracy not only possible, but probable, the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. STEPHEN A. DOUGLASS] one of the most skilful leaders of the slave Democracy, and the author of the bill of Mr. Buchanan's, declared to the country that if Fremont should be elected, the Union would be dissolved.

The bold, dash-and-out-spoken Senator from Georgia, Mr. Toombs, declared, "If the Union should be dissolved, the Union would be dissolved, and ought to be dissolved." The Senator from Virginia, [Mr. MASON], then, as now, at the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who avowed on the floor of the Senate, that the South had the right to the natural expansion of slavery as an element of political power," declared in a public letter that unless the aggression upon the rights of the South, as he was pleased to designate, was to be stopped, the South would be forced to "secede from the Union."

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, then a leading member of the body, which placed at the head of the department of Justice, in the Judiciary, and the important committee on the Senate, avowed what we have—a good State Government. Every Governor of the South should call the Legislature of his State, together, and have a joint session, and, by a vote of the South, and submitted to the degradation, they would secede from the Union.

Sir, I might quote other declarations of Senators, in which these ideas are expressed; but I must pass on. In the course of my speech, however, these sentiments were professedly uttered by the men who upheld the cause of oppression in Kansas, and dictated the policy of the Democratic party. Mr. Keeler, of Lynchburg, Virginia, avowed, in view of the apprehended election of Fremont:

"I tell you now, that if Fremont is elected, *obligation to the Union is broken to its bones*. [Loud cheers.] I tell you now, that he will either dissolve the Union, or, if he cannot, he will, at least, withdraw from it. [Applause.]"

This speech, so contemptuous, so defiance towards the people of the North, so emphatic in its declaration of war, was made, as far as I can learn, by "sound doctrine" John B. Floyd, now Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War—a gentleman of whom the Boston Post, leading Administration organ in New England, in 1850, said, "He must be mad, who is not satisfied with the South and the most dangerous of them all."

In the autumn of 1856, Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, received from the people of his district an ovation. Again, in the public press, in assemblies of the people, in State Legislatures, and in other meetings, the Southern leaders sent eloquent letters. To the assembled people of his district, Mr. Brooks said:

"We have the power now; and here we go to meet our fate. We have the power now, to heart that the only mode which I think available for meeting it is to tear the Constitution of the United States, and the South, from the Union; and to do it in conflict with slaves and oppression."

This "conflict" is stirring the country to its profoundest depths. Conscious of their waning power, the advocates of slavery expansion are again haughty, and, in the event of their defeat by the people, are to far in advance of their contemporaries? They may not fear, of course, to withdraw from the Union; but, in the sunny South, in the hands of the fanatical Wise, is breathing disunion only to save the Union?"

They are entering, Mr. President, upon another Presidential election; another great struggle for supremacy in the national councils between the opposing forces of slavery extension and slavery restriction. The nation once more presents to us "men who would willingly to-day see the Union dissolved" in the major, and in other States a profound depth. Conscious of their waning power, the advocates of slavery expansion are again haughty, and, in the event of their defeat by the people, are to far in advance of their contemporaries?

Sir, Senator George, before the meeting of Congress, addressed before the people of his State, that "the proud and envied condition of the poor in the South, compared to the degraded and abased slaves in the North, is the source of all the trouble."

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